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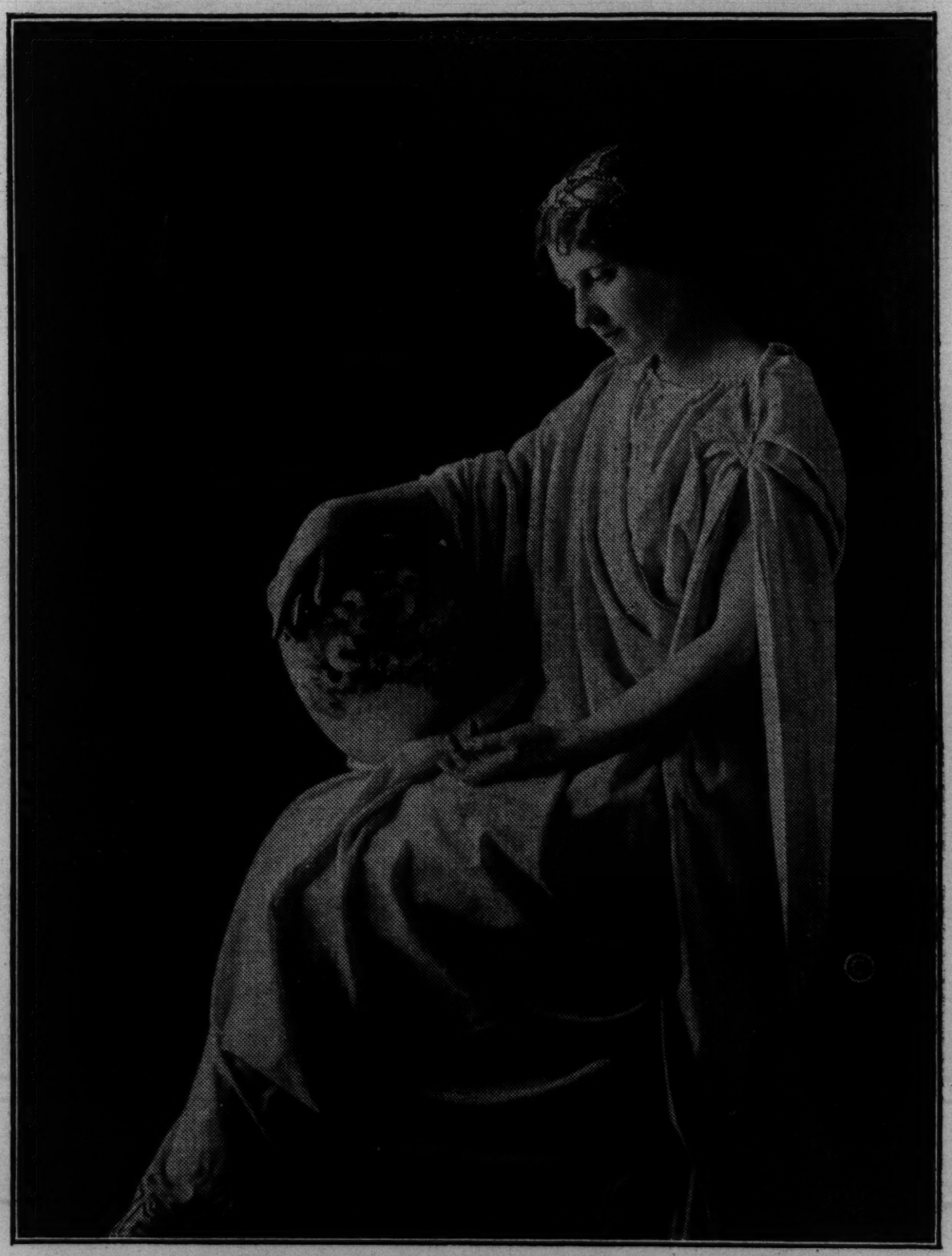
The Suffragist

PUBLISHED BY THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE
AND THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

DECEMBER 30, 1916



IN MEMORY OF INEZ MILHOLLAND

National Services Held Within the Capitol on Christmas Day

Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

AND

National Woman's Party

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OBJECT: To secure an amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women.

MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

ENTRANCE FEE: Twenty-five cents. There are no dues.

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The Suffragist

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and the National Woman's Party
Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C.

DECEMBER 30, 1916

Notes of the Week

Women Voters' Campaign Alliance to Work for Federal Suffrage Amendment

IT HAS been announced that the members of the Women Voters' Campaign Alliance have decided to cease working in state suffrage campaigns and to devote all their work and money to securing an amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women.

The membership of the Alliance was composed of women voters from the twelve equal suffrage states. It was organized by Miss Anne Martin, now chairman of the Woman's Party, with the purpose of helping the enfranchisement of American women. Its first work was in the New Jersey referendum of October, 1915. The Alliance then took an active part in the Massachusetts referendum the following month and in the Iowa campaign for the suffrage referendum of June, 1916.

The announcement is made by Miss Anne Martin, of Nevada, who was chairman of the organization.

International Suffrage Convention at Conclusion of War

IT has been announced that the next International Woman Suffrage Convention will be called at the conclusion of the war and will be held at the same time and place as that chosen by the representatives of the various nations to arrange the terms of peace.

The Woman's Peace Party will also hold its convention at the same time and place.

New Women Voters Under Our Government

THE ratification of the treaty providing for the sale of the Danish West Indies to the United States, brings into our government several hundred thousand women who before the transfer of the islands were qualified voters of Denmark. Unless these women are disenfranchised by act of our government they will continue to take the same part the men of the islands do in thier government.

Leave Out Women!

VARIOUS plans suggested for meeting the deficit it is admitted the government will face at the end of the next fiscal year are being considered by President Wilson and his Cabinet, and it is said that the President might decide to address Congress on the subject as soon as he made up his mind as to how the revenues should be raised.

We would suggest that, since the President left women out of his message at the beginning of the session of Congress, that he leave them out of this proposed address. It would be poor taste, to say the least, to refuse their claims for self-government at the opening of Congress, and, a few weeks later, to advocate imposing heavy new taxes upon them.

Pennsylvania Grange Indorses National Suffrage

THE Pennsylvania State Grange, meeting in Philadelphia December 22, put itself unequivocally on record in favor of national woman suffrage.

Colorado Women Demand Legislation for Women

PROGRESSIVE legislation for women and children will be asked from the Colorado twenty-first General Assembly which meets in Denver early in January.

One of the big fights will be in behalf of the mother who, through untoward circumstances, is forced to place her children in the dependency list and automatically loses possession of them for good and all. The legislature will be asked to amend the present law by the addition of a redemption clause through which a mother will be given a right to regain possession of her children in a stated period.

Women Work for Jury Reform in California

TWO recent criminal cases in San Francisco have been the means of rivetting attention on the "professional jury" system, as it works in California. They have shown that California juries are composed solely of men, though women are supposed to have an equality of citizenship.

A jury reform league was created at a mass meeting held recently which was addressed by Miss Gail Laughlin, member of the National Advisory Council of the Congressional Union.

In the course of her address Miss Laughlin said, "Too long the idea has prevailed that all the big problems in the world should be decided by men. When this impression is corrected we shall have honest jury systems in San Francisco and elsewhere. The work immediately in front of us is to re-organize our system and have women, as well as men, serve on all our jury panels."

The slogan of the Jury Reform League is "Select the jury panels from the Great Register, men and women alike."

Women and the Press

THE electoral college is now a co-educational institution," was the joke that was the hit of the evening at the Amen dinner recently held in New York, otherwise known as "Gotham's Gridiron Dinner."

It is most significant that the important press clubs of the country are recognizing the increased importance of women in relation to the government by using the present suffrage situation in their annual dinner programs.

Part of the oath of office administered at the Gridiron Dinner, Washington, D. C., was, "Do you swear to play politics with woman suffrage?"

Woman Member of University Senate

MRS. KATE DWYER, the leader of the Labor Women of New South Wales, was recently appointed to a seat on the Senate of the University of Sydney, with life tenure. This is the first time that a woman has been called upon to fill such a position in the British Dominions.

Women Now Hold Positions in British Army

THE names of two women private secretaries may now be found in the Army list of Great Britain. They are Miss F. L. Stevenson and Miss C. L. Bennett.

The Last Crusade

SINCE the tragic death of Inez Milholland Boissevain in Los Angeles in November every memory of her has become an illuminated and precious thing to those who worked with her. From her Vassar days, when she first took up the championship of suffrage in the face of college opposition, Inez Milholland gave herself whole-heartedly to the suffrage battle. She led the great New York Suffrage Parade in 1910; she made brilliant pleas before many audiences.

With the formation of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, she threw herself into the federal amendment fight. To her forthright and direct intelligence, her youthful impatience with compromise and indirection, the turn of the suffrage tide that made it at last possible to make reality the dream of the old leaders, was welcomed enthusiastically. She became a member of the National Advisory Council of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage when it was formed three years ago. From this time she threw the whole weight of her influence to their brisk campaign for immediate action.

When for the first time in the history of this country a distinguished group of eastern women, made the trip last spring through the western states to appeal to their western sisters; to tell them the story of the long fight and the long waiting and ask them to back up their new sympathy with votes, Inez Milholland entered ardently into the dramatic plan. To her sensitive imagination the trip of the Suffrage Special took on all the colors of a crusade; and the grail to her was liberty. She eagerly consented to make one of this party.

Touching now to think of was her final denial to herself of this stirring trip. One of the legal cases she had undertaken for the unknown and defenceless demanded her attention. For this possible solution of the little tragedy of one of her unknown and humble friends, she gave up the first western appeal by eastern women for federal suffrage. When she did make her lonely crusade into the west for the freedom of women nine months later, she gave up her life in Los Angeles.

During the great Woman's Party Convention in Chicago last June, when the Conventions of the political parties who had so long flouted women were also meeting, she came in touch for the first time with the women of the west, who had come to Chicago in thousands to show their devotion to the cause of the political freedom of the women of the whole nation. Few who saw her on the stage of the Blackstone Theater at the height of the Convention, with her flame-lined cloak flung back and her blue eyes kindling to strange light will forget the picture; few who heard her the next day at the great Auditorium Hotel meeting will forget the power and fire of her words.

Banner Bearers in the Memorial Service

A few months after, Inez Milholland undertook the severe trip through the suffrage states to make her last appeal to women to put suffrage first, to put woman above party. For the sake of liberty, the imperishable ideal that had curiously seemed to dominate her from earliest girlhood, she started out on the crusade that was to be her last.

It is touching to the point of tears now to think of the weary days of that pilgrimage. Even those nearest did not guess the suffering of those hours of lassitude, those nights when her stirring appeals sapped slowly little by little her whole strength. Through Wyoming, through Idaho she passed, bringing both men and women to a realization of the meaning of the last chapter of woman's struggle for political liberty.

She passed through Oregon and Washington, cheered at the stations by waiting crowds. Little towns were moved by her beautiful face and buoyant message during brief stops. She did not spare herself. She seemed to hurry to meet eager eyes and listening ears as if presciently aware that her bravely held torch was soon to be blown out.

Montana, Utah and Nevada heard her appeals. It was in Nevada at Carson City that she spoke in the open street at sunset, its glow illuminating her face, the whole town, men, women and children, clustered about her. "We are bound to win," this young evangel of liberty proclaimed. "There never was a fight yet where interest was pitted against principle that principle did not triumph."

The California meetings sapped the very last of her strength. "Liberty" was the last word on her lips as she fell fainting at the great Los Angeles mass meeting. May her sacrifice prove the last demanded from women in the long struggle for freedom.

To Inez Milholland Boissevain

"For Lycidaes is dead, dead ere his prime;
Young Lycidaes, and hath not left his peer."
—Milton.

INEZ, vibrant, courageous, symbolic,
How can death claim you?
Many he leads down the long halls of silence
Burdened with years,
Those who have known sorrow
And are weary with forgetting,
The young who have tasted only gladness
And who go with wistful eyes,
Never to see the sharp breaking of illusion.
For these—
We who remain and are lonely
Find consolation, saying:
"They have won the white vistas of quietness."

But for you—
The words of my grief will not form
In a pattern of resignation.
The syllables of rebellion
Are quivering upon my lips!
You belonged to life—
To the struggling actuality of earth;
You were our Hortensia and flung
Her challenge to the world—
Our world still strangely Roman—
"Does justice scorn a woman?"

Oh! Between her words and yours the centuries seem
Like little pauses in an ancient song,
For in the hour of war's discordant triumph
You both demanded "Peace"!
And I, remembering how the faces of many women
Turned toward you with passionate expectation,
How can I find consolation?

Inez, vibrant, courageous, symbolic,
Can death still claim you?
When in the whitening winter of our grief
You smile with all the radiance of spring,
When from the long halls of silence
The memory of your voice comes joyously back
To the ears of our desolation—
Your voice that held a challenge and a caress.
You have gone—
Yet you are ours eternally!
Your gallant youth,
Your glorious self-sacrifice—all ours!
Inez, vibrant, courageous, symbolic,
Death can not claim you!

By Ruth Fitch.

Memorial Address

Delivered by Maud Younger at National Memorial Service at the Capitol

WE are here to pay tribute to Inez Milholland Boissevain, who was our comrade. We are here in the Nation's Capitol, the seat of our democracy, to pay tribute to one who gave up her life to realize that democracy.

We are here that the life she gave should not be given in vain, but that the knowledge of her, the understanding of her, the sacrifice of her, and the inspiration of her should bring to fulfillment the work for which she laid down her life.

Inez Milholland walked down the path of life a radiant being. She went into work with a song in her heart. She went into battle, a laugh on her lips. Obstacles inspired her, discouragement urged her on. She loved work and she loved battle. She loved life and laughter and light, and above all else, she loved liberty. With a loveliness beyond most, a kindliness, a beauty of mind and soul, she typified always the best and noblest in womanhood. She was the flaming torch that went ahead to light the way, the symbol of light and freedom.

She was ever thus in the woman's movement, whether radiant, in white, pinning the fifth star to the suffrage flag when the women of Washington were enfranchised; whether leading the first suffrage parade down Fifth Avenue, valiantly bearing the banner, "Forward into light," or whether in the procession in our Capital four years ago, when, mounted on a white horse, a star on her brow, her long masses of dark hair falling over her blue cape, she typified dawning womanhood.

Symbol of the woman's struggle, it was she who carried to the west the appeal of the unenfranchised, and, carrying it, made her last appeal on earth, her last journey in life.

As she set out upon this her last journey, she seems to have had the clearer vision, the spiritual quality of one who has already set out for another world. With infinite understanding and intense faith in her mission, she was as one inspired. Her meetings were described as "revival meetings," her audiences as "wild with enthusiasm." Thousands acclaimed her, thousands were turned away unable to enter. In this western land she came into her own. Something in her spirit with its intense love of liberty found a kinship in the great sweep of plain and sagebrush desert, in the bare rocky mountains and flaming sunsets. She seemed to breathe in the freedom of the great spaces. Something in her nature was touched by the simplicity and directness of the people. And so on through the west she swept with her ringing message, a radiant vision, a modern crusader.

And she made her message very plain.

She stood for no man, no party. She stood only for Woman. And standing thus, she urged:

"It is women for women now and shall be until the fight is won!

"Together we shall stand shoulder to shoulder for the greatest principle the world has ever known, the right of self-government.

"Whatever the party that has ignored the claims of women, we as women must refuse to uphold it. We must refuse to uphold any party until all women are free.

"We have nothing but our spirit to rely on and the vitality of our faith, but spirit is invincible.

"It is only for a little while. Soon the fight will be over. Victory is in sight."

Though she did not live to see that victory it is sweet to know that she lived to see her faith in woman justified. In one of her last letters she wrote:

Standard Bearer in Memorial Procession

"Not only did we reckon accurately on women's loyalty to women but we likewise realized that our appeal touched a certain spiritual, idealistic quality in the western woman voter, a quality which is yearning to find expression in political life. . . . At the idealism of the Woman's Party her whole nature flames into enthusiasm and her response is immediate. She gladly transforms a narrow partisan loyalty into loyalty to a principle, the establishment of which carries with it no personal advantage to its advocates, but merely the satisfaction of achieving one more step toward the emancipation of mankind. . . . We are bound to win. There never has been a fight yet where interest was pitted against principle that principle did not triumph."

Into this struggle she poured her strength, her enthusiasm, her vitality, her life. She would come away from audiences and droop as a flower. The hours between meetings were hours of exhaustion, of suffering. She would ride in the trains gazing from windows listless, almost lifeless, until one spoke; then again the sweet smile, the sudden interest, the quick sympathy. The courage of her was marvelous.

The trip was fraught with hardship. Speaking day and night, she would take a train at two in the morning to arrive at eight. Then a train at midnight and arrive at five in the morning. Yet, she would not change the program; she would not leave out anything. Something seemed to urge her on to reach as many as she could; to carry her message as far as she could while there was yet time.

And so on, ever, through the west she went, through the west that drew her, the west that loved her, until she came to the end of the west. There where the sun goes down in glory in the vast Pacific, her life went out in glory in the shining cause of freedom.

And as she had lived loving liberty, working for liberty, fighting for liberty, so it was that with this word on her lips she fell. "How long must women wait for liberty?" she cried and fell, as surely as any soldier upon the field of honor, as truly as any who ever gave up his life for an ideal.

As in life she had been the symbol of the woman's cause, so in death she is the symbol of its sacrifice—the whole daily sacrifice, the pouring out of life and strength that is the toll of the prolonged women's struggle.

Inez Milholland is one around whom legends will grow up. Generations to come will point out Mount Inez and tell of the beautiful woman who sleeps her last on its slopes.

They will tell of her in the west, tell of the vision of loveliness as she flashed through on her last burning mission, flashed through to her death, a falling star in the western heavens.

But neither legend nor vision is liberty, which was her life. Liberty cannot die. No work for liberty can be lost. It lives on in the hearts of the people, in their hopes, their aspirations, their activities. It becomes part of the life of the nation. As Inez Milholland has given to the world, she lives on forever.

We are here today to pay tribute to Inez Milholland Boissevain, who was our comrade. Let our tribute be not words which pass, nor song which dies, nor flower which fades. Let it be this:

That we finish the task she could not finish;

That with new strength we take up the struggle in which fighting beside us she fell;

That with new faith we here consecrate ourselves to the cause of Woman's Freedom, until that cause is won;

That with new devotion we go forth, inspired by her sacrifice, to the end that that sacrifice be not in vain but that dying she shall bring to pass that which living she could not achieve, full freedom for women, full democracy for the nation.

Let this be our tribute imperishable to Inez Milholland Boissevain.

The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on December 7, 1915, by Senators Sutherland, Thomas and Thompson.

In the House, on December 6, 1915, by Representatives Mondell, Raker, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported

In the Senate, January 8, 1916, the Sutherland Amendment, known as Senate Joint Resolution No. 1; by a favorable vote.

In the House, December 14, 1916, the Raker Amendment, known as House Joint Resolution No. 1; without recommendation.

Present Status

In the Senate, awaiting action.

In the House, awaiting action.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

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To the President and Congress

Resolution Adopted at Memorial Services, in Statuary Hall, National Capitol, Christmas Day

BEYOND the inspiration to be found in the life and death of Inez Milholland Boissevain and in her last message, "Keep on fighting for democracy," there is another significance.

Those who are working in the cause for which she died, who know the thousands of other women throughout the world bearing unflinchingly its sacrifices and labors and exhaustion, turn to the President of this democracy with the plea that he intercede to stop such waste of human life and effort. For by her death there has been made clear the constant, unnoticed tragedy of this prolonged effort for freedom that is acknowledged just, but is still denied.

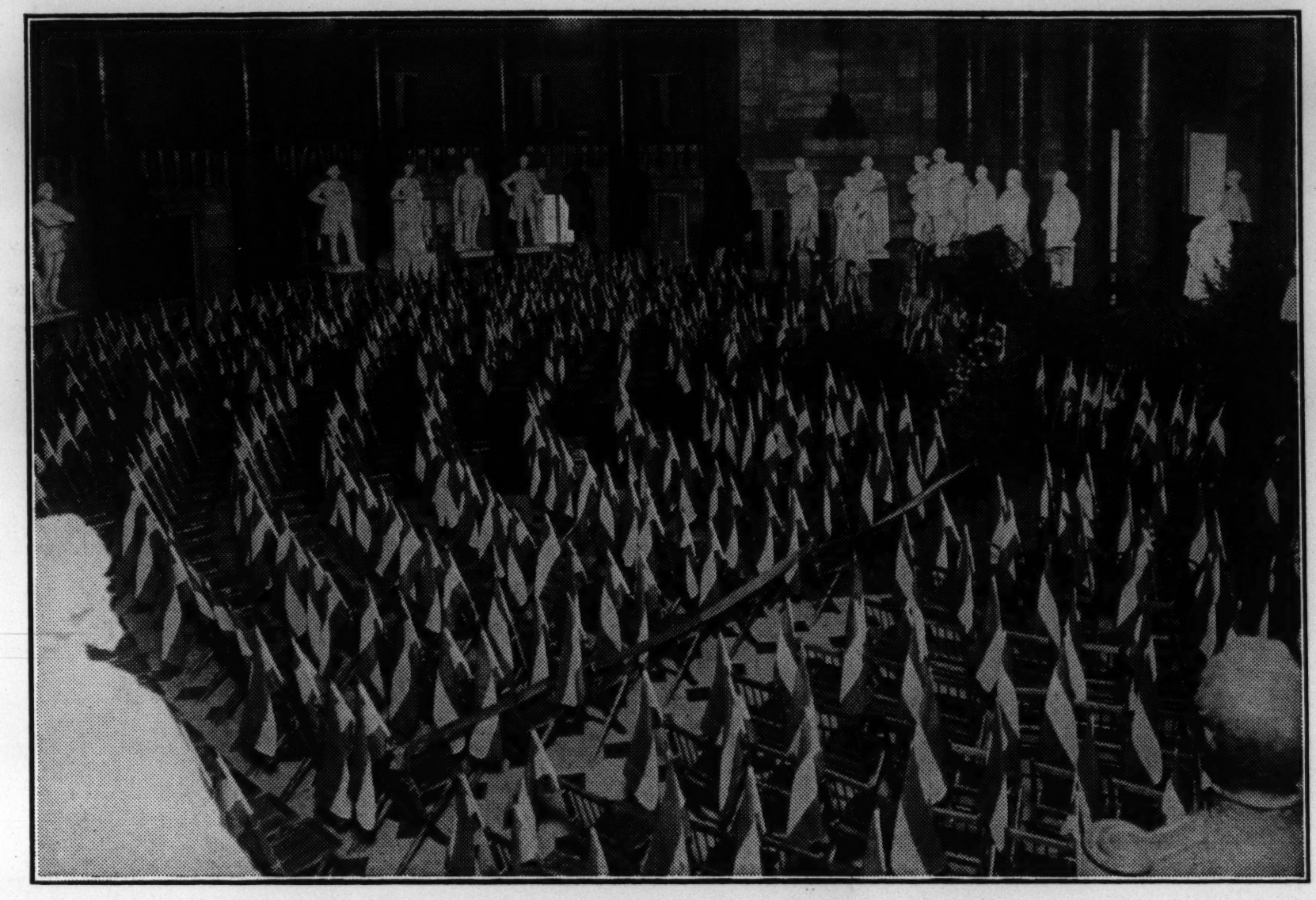
Because of her labor to win for herself and for other women freedom and power to play their part and carry on their life work, Inez Milholland died, and so there was destroyed what the world can so little spare, the beauty, joyousness and far-seeing helpfulness that were her gifts to it.

In all lands the strength of other women is being sacrificed, the powers of other women are being silenced, they are giving their lives to wrest from unwilling governments what is theirs in justice and in reward of service, what here and there freedom-loving peoples have granted them as a gift.

There is no need here in the United States to prolong this struggle of women. Their triumph is foreseen and welcomed. They are now fighting but the spirit of hesitancy and delay.

President Wilson, chosen chief of this republic, Representatives of the people at each end of this great corridor, we ask that you open the great doors before which our women are exhausting their lives in waiting and appeal. Will you not let this nation by its example, win yet another victory for liberty throughout the world?

Will you not be moved to act so that by her death Inez Milholland Boissevain shall have delivered from the sacrifice of life her countrywomen?



Interior of the National Capitol Decorated for the Memorial Service

The National Memorial Service in Memory of Inez Milholland

INEZ MILHOLLAND BOISSEVAIN, the young suffrage leader who gave her life for the political freedom of women, was honored within the national Capitol on Christmas Day by one of the most thrillingly beautiful ceremonies probably ever seen within that historic spot. The service, held in Statuary Hall, arranged by the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage and the Woman's Party under whose banner this leader so young in years, fought her last fight, seemed to partake of the crusading spirit of the cause for which she died.

Statuary Hall, its many marble pillars flanked by bronze and marble statues of the heroes of this nation, for the first time in its history lost its own identity and became, lit by banners like heraldic devices and filled with the pomp of triumphant song, part and parcel of the magnificent memorial. The great place, with its altar like dais banked with laurel and cedar, might have been a temple celebrating the triumphant but tragic return from some high quest. There was no note of sorrow struck there. Between the marble pillars of the balcony opened for the first time in many years and dark with the mass of spectators, stood the great tri-colored purple, white and gold banners of the Congressional Union, glowing like heraldic devices. Every chair in the great place supported its banner. The audience seemed to be part of a sea of light.

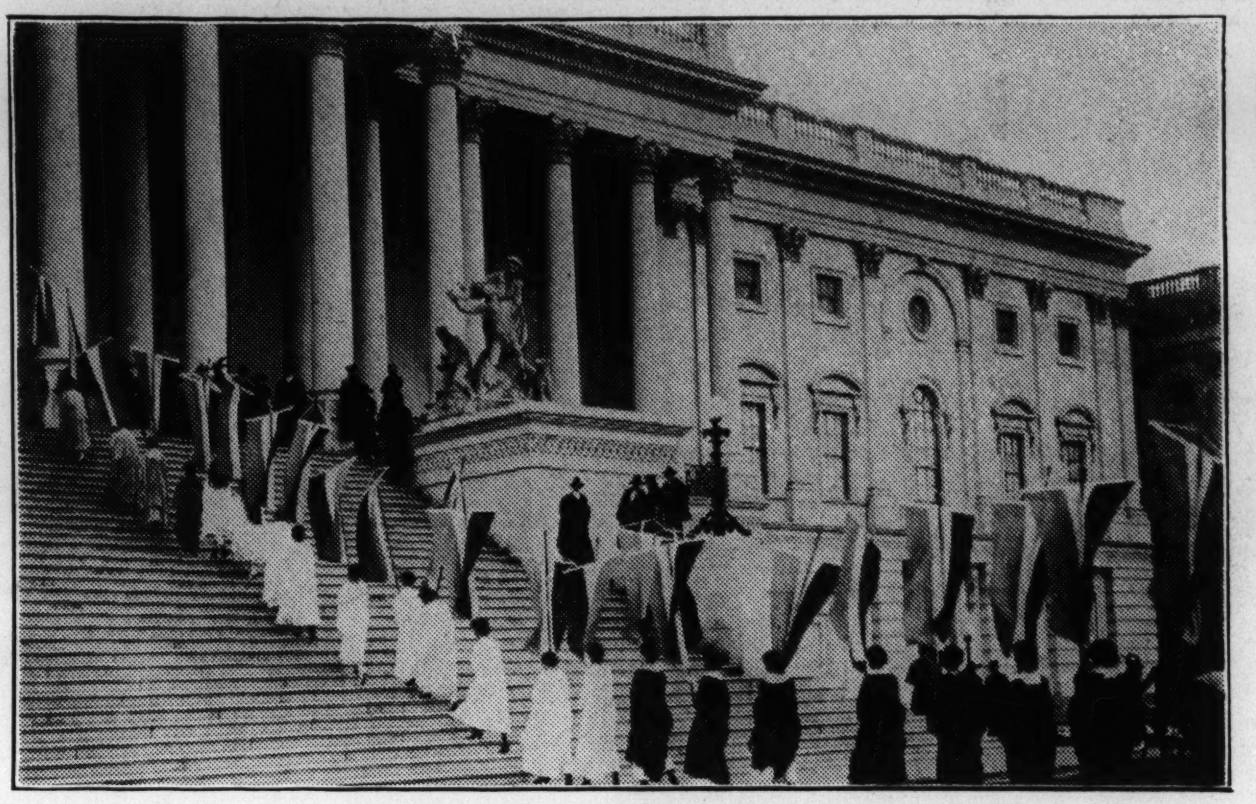
In keeping with this triumphant colorful interior was the character of the music and the pageant-like effect of the young banner-bearers who followed the boy choristers singing the processional. Exquisite in effect were these boy-voices as they marched from the House Office Building and wound up the long flight of the East entrance into Statuary Hall chanting that dauntless hymn, part of which Inez Milholland had carried as a girl in New York's first great suffrage procession.

FORWARD out of error,
Leave behind the night,
Forward through the darkness,
Forward into light,"

rang the childish voices; and repeating the triumphant hope came the replica of the golden banner of Inez Milholland, lifted high and carried by a young girl in white who headed a great procession of young women carrying high the purple, white and gold standards of the Congressional Union. Garbed in straight surplices of purple, white or gold, carrying their blowing banners erect against the breeze, this living line of light and color winding across the Capitol plaza made an unforgettably gallant picture. The young standard bearers grouped themselves, a circle of color, about the hall, their tri-colored standards at rest, during the service.

On either side of the laurel-covered dais backed by the dark velvet curtains stood young girls in white, with uplifted golden banners bearing inscriptions that emphasized the last self-sacrifice of Inez Milholland. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends," said one. "Without extinction is liberty, without retrograde is equality," proclaimed another. "As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free," said a third.

Preceding the addresses Gounod's Ave Maria was played by organ and orchestra, and the boy singers, St. David's Choristers, sang "Forward be



Procession Entering Capitol for Memorial Service

our Watchword," under the direction of Eugene Wyatt. The Mendelssohn Quartette sang the two hymns, "Love Divine" and "Thou whose almighty word," closing the service with the beautiful anthem, "Before the Heavens were spread abroad." Because of the unusual acoustics of Statuary Hall the voices of the singers stationed behind the velvet curtains at the rear, seemed to be coming from above. The effect was peculiarly beautiful. Miss Elizabeth Howry then sang with great feeling and tenderness the old Welsh hymn, "All Through the Night," and immediately after it Henschel's "Morning Song." Miss Howry's voice is a lyric soprano and the triumphant ringing notes of the Morning Song after the solemn chant which preceded it seemed to typify the new faith which was Inez Milholland's gift to those she left behind.

MISS ANNE MARTIN of Nevada, national chairman of the Woman's Party, for which Inez Milholland had made her last appeal for the liberation of women, presided. "We are gathered to hold a memorial for our friend and comrade," she said, "she was from the beginning a valiant ally of the Congressional Union. In the campaign just closed in the western states for the national enfranchisement of women, Inez Milholland poured out her precious strength until she had none left to give, and died. She gave her life for the freedom of women and for the welfare of her country. It is altogether fitting that this service in her memory should take place in the hall of the nation's Capitol, sacred to the nation's heroes, where so many of America's illustrious dead have been commemorated.

"Inez Milholland died not only for the women of the nation, but for the nation itself, and for all women. Men and women of America are rendering her on Christmas day a national tribute. Standing in this hall where the life and work of President Lincoln and General Grant were commemorated by a sorrowing nation, heartened by her courage, strengthened by her devotion and unselfishness, we dedicate ourselves anew to winning liberty for the women of America. The day of women's freedom is nearer because Inez Milholland lived."

SENATOR GEORGE SUTHERLAND, representing the Congress of the United States said: "The battlefield is not the only place from which the souls of men go up in supreme self-sacrifice to God. The earth has been covered with the Gethsemanes of Peace, where courage and steadfast endurance have been required in measure sometimes far greater than that which enables the soldier to confront the grim chances of war. Neither is heroic service in war or in peace the sole prerogative of men. All history is luminous with the deeds of women no less heroic. In the passionate, and sometimes pathetic struggle of the human race for self-government, women have walked side by side with men, bearing their part of the burden, sharing in everything except the gain. In our own day we are witnessing a great movement having for its object the equalization of the rights which have accrued from this struggle of both sexes for a larger democracy. Back of it there is a conviction of righteousness as strong as that which animated the Barons at Runnymede and enabled them to wrest *Magna Charta* from the reluctant hands of King John. This movement proceeds from the postulate that no government is completely representative so long as one half of the responsible membership of the democracy which it represents is denied the right to have a voice in its management.

"Many of the leaders in this movement it has been my good fortune to know,—some of them to know well,—splendid, intelligent, patriotic women, with a spirit so high, a faith so serene, a resolution so unchallengable, that no jibe or sneer, no threatened sacrifice of personal comfort, no menace to health or even to life itself, has ever been sufficient to induce them to abandon or abate their efforts. Among these loyal and devoted leaders stood Inez Milholland Boissevain. To this cause she gave the full measure of her intellectual and physical strength; for it, it is no exaggeration to say, she gave her life.

"That she did not give it deliberately, or even consciously, in no degree detracts from the greatness of the sacrifice; for those that knew her best are quite sure that if she had clearly foreseen that the end of her inspiring campaign across the continent was to be a death-bed at Los Angeles, but that nevertheless it was her duty to go on, she would have gone on with that high courage that always accompanied everything she did.

"I esteem it an honor and privilege to be permitted to pay this very brief and wholly inadequate tribute to her memory. What she was and what she did will constitute an inspiration to other women to go on with the work which she laid down,—a work which will not close until it ends in a victory as wide as the country she loved and as complete as the hope she cherished."

ROWLAND B. MAHANY, a former Member of Congress and at present a member of the National Arbitration Commission, long a friend of Mrs. Boissevain and in sympathy with her in her work was introduced by Miss Martin as being a member of the great third group interested in the passage of the federal amendment that means the enfranchisement of women; "There are the great army of women in our own group; there are the loyal members of Congress who believe in liberty; thirdly there is the great body of influential citizens who while not in politics leave their imprint on politics. Mr. Mahany's loyalty is of value to our cause."

"Out of a world of impressions and reflections that crowd upon the mind at this hour," said Mr. Mahany, "comes an echo of William Wordsworth's 'Intimations of Immortality';

'The sunlight comes and goes,
And lovely is the rose;
The moon doth with delight
Look round her when the heavens are bare;
Waters on a starry night
Are beautiful and fair;
The sunshine is a glorious birth;
And yet I know
Where e'er I go,
That there has passed away a glory from the earth!'

"In the new thought which is the best of the old, we are moved to differ from the 'divine despair' at human loss which characterized the grief of an age that has passed, or is passing. We know now that that which is fine and high and true does not pass away, but is destined to enrich our memories and our lives forever.

'The splendors of the firmament of time
May be eclipsed but are extinguished not;
Like stars, to their appointed heights they climb!'

"So with the young and radiant life of her, in loving honor of whose achievements these memorial rites are held to-day. In all the coming years, her influence will have a constantly expanding force; for in all she did, in all she strove to do, she brought to bear basic and fundamental virtues of character elemental with the structure of the universe itself.

"She did not palter or falter in what she believer. She struck for the truth as she saw it; and her scorn of expediency challenged the admiration of an age wherein expediency is almost the guide of life. If it be asked, What after all *did* she accomplish, this will be the all-sufficient answer,—she made the round world pause and look and listen—and applaud!

"All this in thirty years of life, in which ten were crowded with international and cosmopolitan activities. But life is not measured by years or centuries. In ancient time, above the tomb of those who had perished nobly in their youth, this superb and splendid inscription was engraved:

'Consummatti in brevi, expleverunt tempora multa.'
'Coming to their perfection in little time, they filled the measure of many ages.'

"So also with Inez Milholland Boissevain. To her it was given in brief years to be and to leave an inspiration. You women, to whom thinking men look as the most potential force in the civic regeneration of the world, do well to honor her memory.

"The evangel of your crusade has become 'the beautiful tall angel' of your cause. And this is an appropriate time and place to show her honor. Her life blends with the radiance of the day. Her work is in harmony with the memories of this stately edifice and this historic chamber. Here where much of the worth and greatness of the Republic have labored for the nobler life of humanity, we pay tribute to her who fought so good a fight that a larger measure of freedom might come to womankind."

MISS MAUD YOUNGER of California, associated with Mrs. Boissevain in the campaign in the west for the federal enfranchisement of women, made the memorial address, speaking with a depth of feeling that brought tears to the eyes of the great audience. They seemed to visualize the tragedy of the loss of such steadfast youth and beauty to the world, to see the high unfaltering courage of that last pilgrimage in the face of fatigue and bodily pain.

Mrs. William Kent, wife of Representative Kent of California, read the two resolutions that memoralized the occasion; one a resolution of great beauty prepared under the direction of Miss Zona Gale, a friend of Mrs. Boissevain; the other an appeal to the President of the United States, prepared by Mrs. Florence Brewer Boeckel, asking that the waste of women that the death of Inez Milholland typified be stopped by executive support in passing the Susan B. Anthony amendment. The first resolution reads as follows:

WE, MEMBERS of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, wish to express our sorrow for the loss of Inez Milholland Boissevain, a beloved and honored comrade.

"This loss is measureless. Her place cannot be filled. It is not only that Inez Milholland had prophetic understanding of women; she had courage and vision and laughter. She was brave and blithe beyond most leaders—blithe and valiant and unafraid to be herself, even though she knew that self, marching in advance, with eyes on tomorrow, would not be understood by the many with eyes on today.

"She lived in what women will be, in what human beings will be,—but she realized that this day is without its dawn until women are free. The breadth of her vision, her dauntless courage, some vivid quality in her soul thrilled us, like being lifted into clear windswept spaces.

"It is imperative that women understand her. It is not to be borne that she should pass, and that those for whom she worked should miss the luminous spectacle of her as she worked for fuller freedom. Tomorrow must not remember her better than today loves her.

"She asked unceasingly that women realize themselves. Through women she dreamed humanity, a race of the self-governed, not a race half free, half bond.

"These things must be divined and said: that she splendidly believed in women, that she unceasingly asked that they enter into their kingdom. She met her death preaching the solidarity of women.

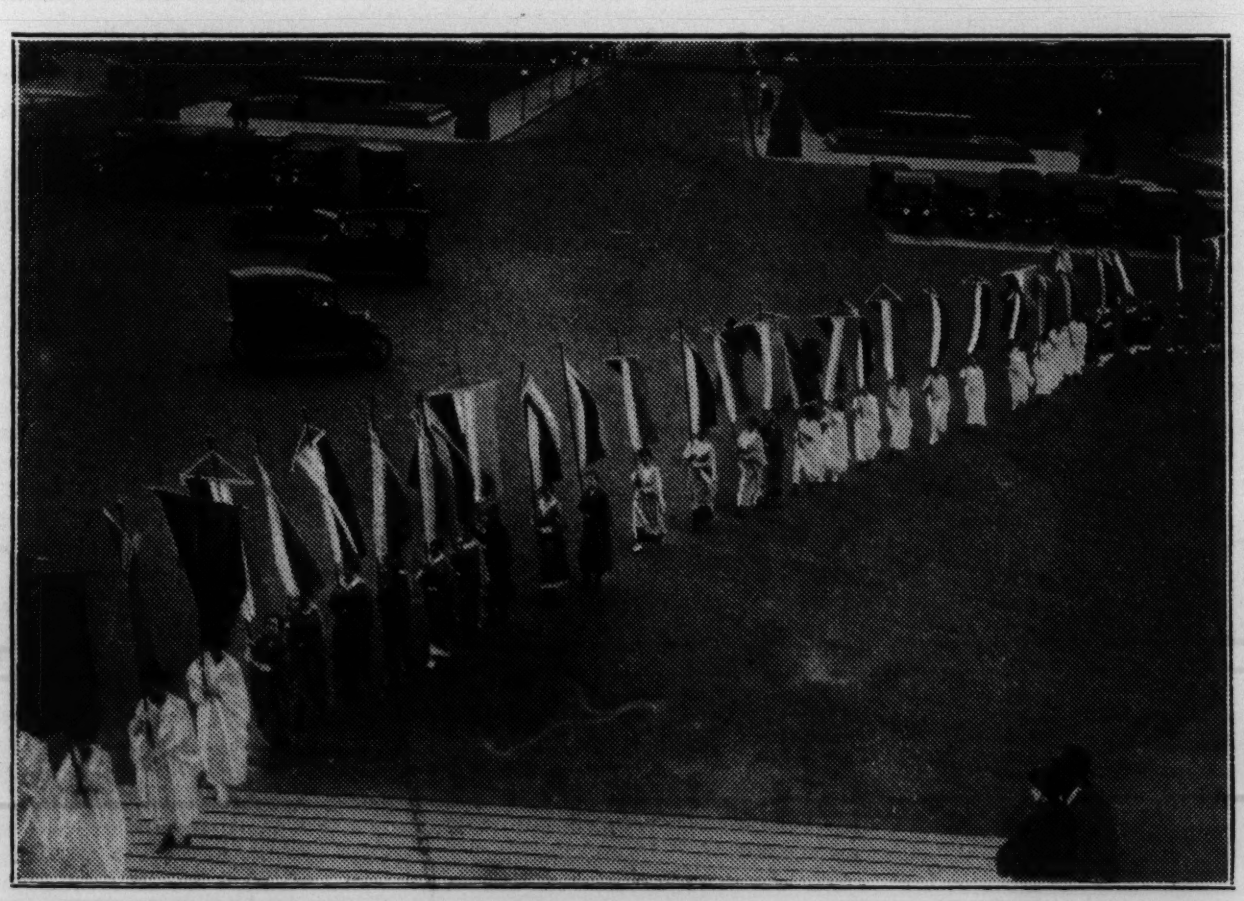
"Let us remember her thrilling appeal to women in her last speech:

"'It is women for women now, and shall be till the fight is won.

"'Don't dare to say you are free until all women are free.

"'Together we shall stand, shoulder to shoulder, for the greatest principle the world has ever known—the right of self-government.'

"The burning figure of her standing beside all women must not be veiled from the women of



Section of the Procession

the nation. She gave herself to many causes, but she put no cause before the cause of women.

"Inez Milholland stood for women. She lived for women, she died for women. She is in the heart of every woman whose heart beats for tomorrow. That tomorrow is clearer and nearer because Inez Milholland lived. We, her comrades and friends, acknowledge the great debt we owe her. In the name of all women, we accept her gift and proudly honor her triumphant death. May we have the courage and the devotion to follow where she has led."

THE closing of the service was significant and moving. As the young surpliced choristers filed singing from the great place, the girl standard beares stationed about the hall took up the march with lifted banners, first those in white surplices followed by those in floating gold, last those clad in deep purple.

"Oh may thy soldiers, faithful, true and bold,
Fight as the saints who nobly fought of old,
And win with them the victors crown of gold,"

sang the young voices in the distance as the golden banner-bearers disappeared. There was a profound hush as the figures in solemn purple with lowered banners like drooping plumes passed through the door; but the distant voices still sang:

"But lo there breaks a yet more glorious day..
The saints triumphant rise in bright array...."

and the voices were lost in the distance. While the audience still sat, held by the beauty of the spectacle and words, the strains of the Marseillaise were taken up by the organ and strings, ringing and reverberating triumphantly through the great dome—the martial song of hope sung by suffragists the country over to the words of Sara Bard Field. Voices took up the words. The great place reverberated with stirring sound. The solemn service closed in martial pomp.

THE most helpful and courteous cooperation on the part of all the officials and staffs of the national government connected with the Capitol made the organization of this great memorial possible. From the time that, through Representative Adamson of Georgia, Speaker Clark gave permission for the use of Statuary Hall within the Capitol, the spirit of interest shown officially was remarkable. Even the Democratic caucus rom in the House Office Building was volunteered as a dresing room for the hundreds of participants.

MR. and Mrs. John Milholland, the parents of Mrs. Boissevain, her sister, Miss Vida Milholland, her brother, and Mr. Eugen Boissevain, her husband, came from New York to be present at this national tribute.

Among the distinguished men and women present were Mr. William Eno, Mr. and Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Senator and Mrs. Warren of Wyoming, Representative and Mrs. Everis A. Hayes, Senator Smoot of Utah, Senator and Mrs. Works of California, Senator and Mrs. Shafroth of Colorado, Senator and Mrs. Bankhead of Alabama, Ex-Senator Bailey of Texas, Senator Stone of Missouri, Senator Jones of Washington, Mrs. Champ Clark, wife of the Speaker; Mrs. Cullop, wife of Representative Cullop of Indiana, Judge and Mrs. Sidney Ballou, Admiral and Mrs. Richard Wainwright, Mr. A. W. L. Tjarda van Starkenbargh, Secretary of the Dutch Legation, Senator and Mrs. La Fontaine of Belgium, Miss Ella Riegel, vice-chairman of the Pennsylvania branch of the Congressional Union, Miss Caroline Katzenstein of Philadelphia, William H. Johnston, president of the International Association of Machinists; Mrs. W. Thompson Burch, president of the Washington branch of the Woman's Peace Party, Dr. and Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, Mrs. Frank P. Odenheimer, president of the Daughters of the Confederacy, Mr. J. Webb Richman, Mrs. John W. Langley, wife of Representative Langley of Kentucky, Mrs. E. J. Hill, wife of Representative Hill and Miss Mary Phelps Morgan of Connecticut, Mrs. William E. Humphrey, wife of Representative Humphrey of Washington, and Mrs. John M. Nelson, wife of Representative Nelson of Wisconsin.

The Press on the Memorial

A THOUSAND or more persons joined a procession that formed at 4 o'clock at the Library of Congress and marched across the Capitol Plaza to Statuary Hall, where in the distinguished but mute company of the "Immortals" who effigies adorn the great Valhalla, impressive speeches were made, vested choirs chanted and finally resolutions were adopted addressed to President Wilson in the cause of equal rights for women.

The procession was pageantlike. A feature of the parade was a long line of banner bearers gowned in purple, white and gold.—*N. Y. Sun, December* 26.

IN Statuary Hall of the Capitol building, surrounded by the silent figures of the nation's great, among them another woman whose temperance message to the race is living on after her—Frances E. Willard—notable men and women from nearly every state in the Union gathered to pay tribute to the woman who "loved life and light and laughter," who flamed like a star across the continent in a brave crusade for the rights of her sex, whose life went out as the sun goes out over the vast Pacific—but, like the sun, only to rise again in memory, heralding the dawn of woman's day.

It was a splendid memorial, a ceremony unforgettably impressive. The famous hall was a pageantlike scene. From balcony to pillar was flung out the tricolor of the crusaders. At the back of every chair was raised the flag of the cause. Around the hall young women stood like sentinels, holding aloft banners of purple, white and gold.—*Washington, D. C., Post, December* 26.

THE services were the first in honor of a suffragist which have been held in the Capitol.

Members of the Congressional Union, in which Mrs. Boissevain was a leader, made up the majority of the attendants, many of them coming from distant parts of the country, and such a crowd tried to join them that the police had to bar the entrances. The hall and its galleries were packed before the program began.

Three years before Mrs. Boissevain rode to the Capitol steps on a great white horse, leader of a suffrage parade. Today in her name the woman's cause marched within the walls and the suffrage colors draped the seats where so many statesmen had assembled.—*N. Y. Tribune, December* 26.

MAY we have the courage and the devotion to follow where she has lead."

This closing sentence from the resolution unanimously adopted by the concourse present gives the keynote of the memorial services held yesterday afternoon in the Capitol of the United States for Inez Milholland Boissevain, the young suffrage leader whose early death was largely due to her work for the political emancipation of women.

The ceremonies, which were staged by the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, and which were the first of the sort ever held in the Capitol, were in Statuary Hall, by permission of Speaker Clark. So great was the crowd that the hall and its galleries were packed before the program began and the police had to bar the entrances.

Optimism and emphasis on the "shoulder to shoulder" idea in future labors outweighed even the evidence of the feeling of deep and personal loss on the part of those attending the proceedings. The scene was impressive in the extreme as her comrades and friends acknowledged the great debt they owe the departed worker.—*Washington, D. C., Star, December* 26.

AN extraordinary tribute was paid yesterday in the Capitol building to an American woman, whose recent death caused profound grief through a wide circle. Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain was one of the most vigorous workers in the cause of the enfranchisement of women in this country. For a decade she has been endeavoring ceaselessly and sacrificingly to advance the cause. She literally gave her life to it, persisting even in illness in a speaking tour through the west, which closed only when her strength failed and death claimed her. Her youth, her beauty, her magnetism, her unfaltering faith made her one of the most powerful factors in the suffrage fight.

Yesterday she was honored by an assemblage seldom equaled in Washington in a place rarely given for the pronouncing of eulogies and filled with historic associations. This ceremonial marks a material advance in the cause of women. Mrs. Boissevain's death, though it has cost a valuable leader, may prove to be an important contribution to the cause of suffrage. Apart, however, from that, it is well to note that the American people on Christmas day paused to pay tribute in one of the highest places to one who stood in the best sense as a noble type of womanhood.—*Washington, D. C., Star, December* 26.

Treasurer's Report

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Sale of Tickets.....	41.00
Through Mrs. Kent's Committee:	
Miss Joy Webster	5.00
Mrs. Gilson Gardner...	10.00
Mrs. Bertha Helm	25.00
Mrs. Hazel Nyman	25.00
Memberships	1.26
Total	2,771.04
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST....	194,904.78

National Headquarters Receipts:

Total collected by National Headquarters through December 30, 1916.....		197,675.82
Contributions made to California Headquarters:		
Mrs. Orlow Black.....	35.00	
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Mrs. L. C. Ryce	1
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